"2. The 'index of cultivation' is the percentage of cultivated land in the total land area. The total land area of Formosa, including Penghu and other islands, is 3,596,100 hectares; the total area of cultivated land (10-year average, 1936 to 1945) is 846,552 hectares. Hence the index of cultivation is 23.5 per cent, which is higher than that for South China, Japan, or Korea."

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Such discussion is often confined, however, to establishing *how many* of them there are, and frequently begins and ends with the premise that there are "too many." This issue lies afield from the topics that we propose to consider—a population could not attain its present size, flourish or decline, or even remain in existence were it not for the complex societal arrangements that have made these things possible. Population thus could not become a "problem" by itself, but is a fruitful way of viewing problems in these other spheres. These, along with trends in the numbers of people, are the subject matter of this study, and the succeeding pages are an endeavor to discover what Taiwan's demographic data can be made to reveal about the nature of the society.

The following plan of procedure has been adopted. We shall first describe how Taiwan came to be settled, and take note of the growth of its population, for these are features which mark it off at the outset as a special type of case and furnish clues as to what else one should expect to find. We shall then turn to examine the aims and policies of Japanese colonial development and their consequences for the population. It is not proposed to dwell on what is commonly treated as the "economic" side of this colonial program, such as the spread of the Japanese banking system, the corporate structure of their industry, the expansion of output, construction of factories, or contribution to the "welfare" of the population. A catalog of these direct achievements gives but a very superficial idea of their most interesting aspect—the form in which these innovations were communicated to the Taiwanese.

It will appear that participation in this program on the part of Taiwanese was impeded by barriers at nearly every point, and that they felt its effect on their livelihood and their customs only by indirection. Some of the reasons for the cleavage between these two groups are to be found in the restrictive measures of the Japanese, and some in the stability of Taiwanese social institutions. Evidence of this stability will be shown in the economic activities of the people, their immobility, the persistence of certain mortality patterns, and the organization of marriage and family affairs. These various aspects of Taiwanese life will also be drawn upon to see how and where minor social changes tended to be fitted into this agrarian system. Finally, we shall assess one overshadowing result of this social stability, the steady high fertility of the Taiwanese.

Throughout, of course, much of the interest in the Taiwanese as

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128 a people stems from the fact that almost all of these are of Chinese origin, and that their behavior under Japanese colonial adminstration may be said to represent the reaction of Chinese cultural norms to selective innovations which fail to attain the dimensions of sweeping societal changes. But this is a pattern of change that has not been uncommon elsewhere in the world. Additional significance can be attached to those findings in Taiwan which have counterparts in other agrarian countries, and the following chapters have been organized with considerable care to emphasize these matters of more general interest.

G.W.B.

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592 households were not keeping up with the increase of people, and 162 that family groups were therefore undergoing some change in their composition. Though some aspects of this change can be shown more satisfactorily below, the process is most easily seen in these figures, since they cover the complete span of the census administration.

162 128 As usual, the published results of these census materials did not do justice to the care that went into their collection. Household tables were not always shown in useful form, and the figures of Table 43 do not convey very much even about the size of families in Taiwan. Obviously in order to draw reliable conclusions about families of Taiwanese it must be possible to separate them as a group in the statistics, and to make sure that the statistics employed are a fair representation of family groups. For exactly this purpose, the Japanese treated one kind of household as standard, the so-called "ordinary" household, to cover the "normal" types of living arrangements. People in certain special categories were excluded; residents of these non-family households, or "quasi-households," will be omitted from most of the tables that follow.[4]

162 592 663 Information about quasi-households is sketchy and hard to find. The size of these establishments is unknown for separate nationality groups, perhaps through a deliberate effort to conceal the military forces (though they would nearly all have been classified as Japanese anyway, according to the status of the person in charge). The figures can be pieced together for the entire population, and appear in Tables 44 and 45. Quasi-households were a very small part of the total, but accounted for a much larger portion of non-Taiwanese. Only one person in a hundred of all nationality groups lived in such circumstances; 6.6 per cent of Japanese and 20 per cent of Mainland Chinese lived in quasi-households in 1930, but relatively few of the Taiwanese were found outside of ordinary households. Since Taiwanese are the main source of interest in the problem, the few living in quasi-households are unimportant, and for the remainder of this chapter the term "household" will be used to refer to "ordinary" households only.

On the average, ordinary households of Taiwanese contained be-

[4] They comprise people counted in hospitals, prisons, schools, military barracks, police and other special dormitories, and hotels. Although they must be removed before the household data can be said to represent patterns of familial life, the line drawn between the two types of household is not entirely rigorous. Many of these people, especially the ones in hotels and schools, were only temporarily absent from their homes, and their family affiliations may have continued undiminished.